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A CHRISTIAN VIEW,

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A CHRISTIAN VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT STATE OF THE COUNTRY,

ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

“A King—must make religion the rule of government, and not to balance the scale; for he that casteth in religion only to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in those characters, *mene, mene, tekel upharsin*: he is found too light, his kingdom shall be taken from him. And that King that holds not religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the supporters of a King.”—*Lord Bacon*.

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LONDON
IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SA'

A CHRISTIAN VIEW,

&c.

THE connexion between Religion and Civil
ty is at an end. The very idea of such a
is evaporated out of men's minds. Lord
don has as little influence on British states-
Livy: the writings of both are held to be
ther times with which the present days
nity. The *pro deo et rege*, the *pro aris*

Dieu et mon droit—maxims of our fore-

set down as the aphorisms of super-

ty, which even the revived fashion

not rescue from contempt. New

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delicate a texture as to forbid its intercourse with the government of nations. "Religion," say they, "is so ecstatic a feeling, that it, like the poet's romantic

"Love, free as air, at sight of human ties
Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies."

Religion can only be genuine in a conventicle, but the moment she comes into a cathedral, she is transformed into an idol, or dies."

But will God renounce His right to the service of the state because the state refuses to serve Him? Can an individual renounce his allegiance to the sovereign in whose realm he has been born, and will not that sovereign attain him as a traitor for so doing? Acts of Parliament cannot make Christ abdicate His title to any earthly throne, nor absolve His viceregents from being amenable to Him, the King of kings. This, they shall know in the day when they shall stand before His judgment seat; and when He shall vindicate His betrayed authority in the presence of angels and of men.

It is not the intention of the following pages to interfere with politics in the narrow, and ordinary acceptation of that term. Every member of the British empire is born however under responsibilities which he cannot shake off. He has a duty to perform as a member of the state; and he has a further duty also to perform as a member of the christian church into which he has been baptized. These duties are distinct but not op-

posite. The state and the church are but two channels through which obedience ascends to Him who is the head of both, and who has "ordained the powers that be," not out of arbitrary caprice, but out of the fulness of love, in order to indicate the means by which the greatest measure of happiness can be enjoyed by a nation. The change introduced through ignorance or contempt of these institutions, and the manner in which various acts of rebellion have been hitherto overruled to accomplish the purposes of God in this country, are the proper subjects of meditation for a British Christian. But we must not be limited to the scenes in which we ourselves have been actors. The great drama in which we fret our little hour has been long playing. We are neither its author, nor called to enact any leading character in it. The most important individual living is rather the puppet of his departed predecessors than the originator of any striking development of the plot. And yet we are all equally accountable for our performance of the meanest part to Him who has revealed himself to be a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate him; and shewing mercy to thousands of them that love him, and keep his commandments.

Whatever can distinguish man amongst, or give him power over, his fellows, ever has been, and ever will be, an object of fiercest contention. In every nation there are two or more

parties striving for mastery. Under absolute governments this is sought from the favor of the sovereign alone. Under limited governments other circumstances must combine in order to the possession of the object; and in each case the desire is modified, more or less, by a real, or imaginary, anxiety for the public weal. The province of the historian is to decide as a disinterested umpire upon the motives and effects of these struggles. The christian statesman must rise higher still; for saints are in the cabinet of the King of kings. Armies and generals execute His orders blindly: philosophers can penetrate no deeper than into the laws and properties of matter: poets may sing the beauties of His works: historians narrate the actions of which they cannot trace the springs: but the christian by his Bible enters into the council Chamber, and sees that it is the Lord of Hosts, the King of Glory, who ruleth amongst the children of men, setting up one kingdom, and pulling down another, and disposing of crowns and sceptres severally as he will. He must see God ruling and acting in all these scenes. A recent popular journal observes, "We are old-fashioned enough to think with Uncle Toby (when asked by Trim how it came to pass that churchmen had so much to do with the making of gunpowder) that an overruling Providence can bring good out of any thing. We are old-fashioned enough to think that such a providence, 'does shape our purposes, rough hew them how we will;' and that when it

was declared to be 'expedient that one man should die for the people,' God did make it turn out so, wicked as was the heart, and base as were the motives, that urged that expediency. Nor perhaps are there many considerations fitted to impress us with a higher notion of the resources of the Deity; than that whilst man, as a free agent, is perpetually thwarting His schemes, (as one might suppose,) He is still able so to overrule affairs, as to work up these very errors into the web of His universal plan, without the smallest appearance of a blotch, or a blunder."

The theology of ancient history is comparatively easy. For without wasting time in discussing the origin of monarchies; whether a congregation of equal individuals chose out of themselves a sovereign, or whether states grew out of families, the christian will unhesitatingly assume that all power and sovereignty is derived immediately from God: that as He disposes the hearts of men to be obedient, they are obedient; and that as He leaves them to themselves, so do they run into self-sufficient independency in all things; that is, into rebellion against Him, and against every degree, and form of power that would control them.

From the time that God's displeasure fell upon Adam and upon all his posterity, He has continually preserved a remnant out of that race which He has destined to high and peculiar privileges. Against this chosen remnant Satan has perseveringly excited the hatred of their brethren, and

endeavoured to frustrate God's purpose by seeking their destruction. The first-born of Adam was also the first persecutor of the saints. The first king of whom we read (Gen. x. 9.) was a hunter of souls from before God; and physical power is used from one end of the Scriptures to the other, nearly as a convertible term for oppression on account of religion. But omitting private individuals, and confining ourselves to public functionaries such as kings, we find that all the great monarchies of the earth are celebrated in the Book of God only for their persecution of His peculiar people; from Nimrod and Belus the founders of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, through Egypt the most learned; and Greece, which exceeded it as well in extent as in knowledge and refinement; to Rome, which swallowed them all up, and which still in another form continues to drink the blood of God's witnesses on the earth.

When it pleased the Lord to constitute the believers in Him into a nation, He led them into a desert place; formed them into a church; appointed two rulers over them, one for their temporal, the other for their spiritual concerns; and established them in a particular spot, which He had selected for that purpose. Here the arm of Omnipotence was ever ready to be made bare for their defence. Who was like unto Jeshurun? the eternal God was their refuge, and underneath them were the everlasting arms. But they rebelled against him. Nevertheless He was loth

to cast them off: He would correct them in measure that they might turn again to Him, from whom they had departed, and live. He withdrew his restraining hand from the bad passions of their enemies, and from time to time chastised them for correction by the sword of the destroyer. At length, the greater part of them despised the Deliverer which was promised to come to them; and the royal house in which alone he could arise: and then the Assyrian poured his forces like a torrent over Israel, and buried them out of the ken of human eyes, where they remain at this day. The Assyrian was the rod of God's anger (Is. x. 5.) and the staff in his hand was God's indignation: but he knew not this: he neither meant to fulfil God's will, nor thought that he was doing so. His only idea was universal monarchy; and all that was in his heart was to destroy and cut off nations not a few. Wherefore as soon as he had performed the part for which he had been prepared by God, he was himself punished for asserting that it was by the strength of his own hand that he had done this, and by his own wisdom, because he was prudent; an absurdity that God declares to be as great as if an axe were to say that it had felled the tree, and not the hand of the woodman that wielded it. The example of Israel was lost upon Judah, who falling into rebellion also, experienced a similar fate from the hands of the Romans; and now after the lapse of 1800 years they remain like some splendid monument of antiquity, majestic

though in ruins, a standing miracle to the world, the confusion of the infidel, and a living example to all succeeding nations, to whom a revelation of the will of the true God has been vouchsafed, of the method of His dealings with nations; and of the certainty of the ultimate punishment in this world of national sins.

Thus far we have travelled upon the sure ground of history, holding the lamp of the divine testimony in our hands as a light for our feet, with no self-love rising like a mist to obscure our vision. We can all discern the misconduct of the Jew: and we are ever ready to cry to him, "Stand by, for I am holier than thou;" and little do the nations of Christendom, still less does Protestant England suppose, that in the history of Judah she may read the history of herself. But it is in this as in every other department of divine truth, each man shall find in the Bible that for which he goes to look; the sceptic desires to find subjects for cavil; there they are to his heart's content; he finds them; he fills himself with them; and—is lost. The Jew is determined to find no greater sacrifice than that of bulls and goats, and therefore can see in the words of Jesus of Nazareth nothing but the same blasphemy for which his forefathers put to death the Lord of life. The modern religionist who resolves that religion has nothing to do with politics, can see no theocracy since the days of Saul; whilst he who goes to the Bible with the simplicity of a child, clearly discovers one uniformly acting God,

and one uniformly acting creature in opposition to Him, varying indeed in the form, but never in the essence, and equally rebelling, whether in his individual or in his collective capacity. So it is also in the great book of God's providence. Some can desory in it nothing but subjects for painting; others perceive little but materials for classifying its various productions throughout its three kingdoms of animal, vegetable, and mineral being; others trace the passions of man in the shock of battles and the marches of armies, but never observe the hand that wields the rod of vengeance and mustereth the hosts for war: they behold the axe, but not the arm that directs it; while others see in the movements of nations the design of God in all His permissions, namely, "that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts." (Eccles. iii. 18.) "Their inward thought is that their houses shall continue for ever, and their dwelling-places to all generations. Nevertheless, man, though in honour, abideth not: he is like the beasts that perish." (Ps. xlix. 2.) "The world does not more surely provide different kinds of food for different animals, than it furnishes doubts to the sceptic, and hopes to the believer, as he takes it. The one, in an honest and good heart, pours out the box of ointment on a Saviour's head; the other, in the pride of his philosophy, only searches into it for a dead fly."

When Gibbon, Hume, Robertson, Sismondi, Hallam, and all such historians, describe the suc-

cessful exploits of princes and generals, they speak of the talents with which their plans were framed, and the skill and courage with which they were executed. When an inspired penman recounts similar actions, he says, that "God stirred up the heart of the king" to do them. In the book of God's revelation, and in the book of God's providence, we can as assuredly read the destiny of Christendom as we can the destiny of Palestine. We have the testimony of our senses to neither; we have the word of man in books assuring us what the latter has been; and we have the word of God in books assuring us what the former shall be: both, therefore, rest upon word; yet no difficulty is found in believing the one, and no hesitation is made about doubting the other. And in order to detain the reader as shortly as possible from this point, we have been obliged to pass, perhaps, too rapidly over the example which is furnished to us in the records of the former dispensation.

It is not to be denied that the Roman empire was shown to Daniel as the last earthly power which should oppress the people of the Most High God: that this empire was at some period of its existence to be split into ten parts: that, during the time it existed in these ten parts, three of them were to be consolidated into one; which one should especially persecute the Church of God: and that, subsequently to this, another empire should arise, which should destroy all the ten parts, and be itself established for ever upon

their ruins. An apostle adds to this information a further description of the power which was to rise within the Roman empire as the persecutor of the saints; namely, that it was to prohibit marriage, command abstinence from meats, and invoke many mediators. History interprets these predictions; and even the godless Machiavel, writing in a popish age and country, shows that the Roman empire had been split into ten parts; that the papal power did consolidate three of these parts; while it is a matter of equal notoriety that the pope has endeavoured to extirpate all Jews, in which he succeeded in Spain and in the Low Countries; and also all true disciples of Jesus, as he tried with the Albigenses, Waldenses, Lollards, Protestants, Huguenots, &c.; that he does enjoin celibacy on all the clergy of the Romish Church, and enforces the vow with such severity, that, while licentiousness among his priests and monks may find absolution, marriage is absolutely unpardonable; it is equally notorious that he does command to abstain from meat; that he does teach the people to pray to dead men and women, as mediators between them and God: and that he does arrogate to himself titles which belong to Christ alone.

Although during the progress of this apostacy much opposition was made to it in different places, all Christendom was more or less brought to submit to it. In England, however, God not only raised up a spirit of resistance from the first, but supported that spirit and nourished it until it

broke out into an open and effectual witness for Him against popery.

The earliest authentic record of christianity, in this country which we possess, is the arrival of Augustine by order of Gregory the Great to preach popery to the heathen English. From the same source, however, we learn that a purer christianity than that which Augustine came to introduce had been previously established, and was in existence; that Augustine commanded those who professed this pure christianity to submit to the pope; that they refused, and that he murdered them in consequence of that refusal. Thus the first historical testimony of christianity in England bears witness to a simultaneous struggle between popery, and those who protested against it. Passing by the events of the heptarchy, we find that no sooner had William conquered this country than he was summoned by the pope to acknowledge the kingdom as a fief from him: this William refused, alleging amongst other reasons that his predecessors never had made such acknowledgment, and neither would he. One of the principal features of the popish apostacy is, that it has placed the church above the civil power, instead of submitting to it, as the church was commanded to do. The next struggle therefore was under Henry, and the object of the celebrated Constitutions of Clarendon was to bring the popish priesthood under the control of the civil magistrate. Wickliffe, John of Gaunt, Lord Cobham, the Lollards, and a host

of other witnesses against the enormities of the lives of the clergy, and abuses in the church, succeeded, who maintained the right of the people to have the word of God in their own tongue: till at length the sovereign, for his own wicked purposes, seconded the anxiety of the people to break off all connection with the pope and his clergy, and this country became the head of the national protesters against the popish anti-christ.

At this epoch too, the affairs of England began to exercise an influence on the politics of the whole of Europe. From this time forward she became the protectress of all little states, and exerted herself to prevent their being swallowed up, or tyrannized over, by their more powerful neighbours. Such did our policy continue down to the peace of Paris in 1814; and the more Protestant were the councils of the sovereign, the more was this policy manifest, as may be seen by a reference to our foreign relations under Elizabeth, Cromwell, William III., and George III., in comparison with them under Mary, Charles, James, and George IV.

Having given this brief outline of our ecclesiastical history, let us now observe the ACTUAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY before we endeavour to trace its CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES. The accuracy, however, with which this observation is made, will much depend upon the character of the evidence which is adduced. It was remarked that in every state there are two parties who are

with a degree of spirit, and by a combination of talent, that have rarely been surpassed in the annals of literature.. It became an engine of mighty power, capable of influencing the character of the age, and calculated to produce great results. If ever there was a work which deserved to be held in reprobation, it is such a work as the Edinburgh Review : a work, which year after year, directed the whole weight of its influence to undermine the reverence which is due to Divine Revelation, and to substitute in its place the heartless principles, and empty pretensions of modern liberalism. In its earlier numbers, and even during several years of its existence, the attacks on Christianity were made without disguise, and the character of the journal was unblushingly infidel. The influence which it has exerted on the character of the age is most manifest ; and the nature of that influence, especially in a political point of view, cannot be mistaken, so legibly is it impressed on the remarkable, and to many the unexpected, changes of the times."

In order to counteract the influence of this Journal, another was established by the opposite party, called the Quarterly Review, under the direction of Mr. Gifford—a celebrated literary, as well as political writer. He was the personal friend of Mr. Canning, who supported and assisted him in several of its early numbers. Among the other contributors were Messrs. Barrow and Croker, the two Secretaries of the Admiralty ; Mr. Robert Hay, Secretary to Lord Melville, and now

Under-secretary of State for the Colonial Department; Mr. Hookham Frere, late envoy to Spain; Mr. Hamilton, then Under-secretary of State in the Foreign Department; Mr. Southey, the Poet Laureate; Dr. Gooch, the King's Librarian; Sir Walter Scott; the Rev. Mr. D'Oyley, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Ireland, the Dean of Westminster; Mr. Hallam, one of the Commissioners of Stamps; and others.

In taking, therefore, from such a witness as the Quarterly Review, the account of the actual state of the country, we see the sentiments of the professed panegyrists of the ruling party, expressed in a work purposely established to counteract the effect of the rival, who would represent the country to be in a falling condition. The opinions are not contained in one, or only in a few, articles; they are continually recurring in nearly every recent number; and we shall transcribe them as they occur without much attention to order.

“The current of public events betokens the approach of times of difficulty and danger. The simplicity of heart, and the earnestness of kindness, which were among the most engaging characteristics of former days, have almost wholly disappeared. The warm and tender feelings which rivetted each man so firmly to his kindred, friends, and neighbours, have now lost much of their former vigour. They were the securities which each man gave and received for the amiableness and integrity of his conduct; and could not be forfeited without reducing him to the con-

dition of a stranger or an outcast. But little of any such check on irregularity now exists. The bonds of society now sit so loose, and connexions are contracted and dissolved with so much ease and indifference, that persons of almost every rank may float along the stream of life without taking or exciting much interest in a single human being. Attachment to place has nearly become extinct also, and deep impressions are obliterated by perpetual change of company and abode, and their place is supplied by pliability of disposition, civility of manners, and a sort of indiscriminate and inactive good-will towards all mankind.

“In nine out of ten occasions, where extraordinary proficiency or information really is demanded, the higher classes are surpassed by those who were originally their inferiors, not only in birth, but in education, and perhaps also in capacity. With a marked and growing spirit of resistance on the part of the people, there is on the part of their rulers a want of corresponding energy and judgment to command them.

“In the artificial state of society in which we live, the higher classes have, generally speaking, little inclination or opportunity for the display of kindness and familiarity, and are often as ignorant of the true state of the lower, though within a very short distance of their own doors, as if they did not belong to the same community or species. We are firmly persuaded that the *burdens of the rich and misery of the poor are at this hour generally and rapidly advancing.*

“ It is a complete delusion to imagine that the progress of improvement is indefinite, and that if a country has once got the start of its neighbours, it must be its own fault if it is ever overtaken by them. Both reason and history indicate that there is a point at which improvement must cease. This is now the case with England. Symptoms now and then appear, which look as if all were wearing out, and the present order of things were verging to one of those great changes to which all sublunary affairs are subject; a variety of concurring circumstances seem to show that formidable difficulties must be encountered by us at no great distance. Let the aristocracy of England, let all who have strong influence in this land, bethink them well what they are about.

“ Among the revolutions which have taken place in the various classes of which society is composed in this country, there is none which merits more careful examination than the momentous change which has been brought about in the condition of our peasantry. That an *all but universal change for the worse has taken place* in the condition of this most important class, *is a lamentable and admitted fact*: that honesty, sobriety, industry, and contentment, have disappeared almost entirely amongst a body of men once remarkable for these virtues, is a truth which no person conversant with the present state of our country parishes will venture to controvert.

“ The change which has been brought about in the condition of our peasantry is more important

in its character, and incalculably more pregnant with consequences, than any political or social revolution that has ever been brought about, either in this or any other country."

This is a tolerably good confession from the organ of a party that has had the uncontrolled exercise of power from the year 1780, *i. e.* for half a century. But to proceed.

"There was a time when the men of England were not ashamed of their faith; when appropriate texts adorned the walls of their dwelling-rooms, and children received at night a father's blessing; and 'let us worship God, was said with solemn air' by the head of the household; and churches were resorted to daily; and the parson in journey gave notice for prayers in the hall of the inn; 'for prayers and provender,' quoth he, 'hinder no man;' and the merchant thought how he could make his merchandize subservient to the good of his fellow-creatures, and the glory of his God; and the grave historian (Lord Clarendon himself does so) chose a text from his bible as a motto for his chapter on politics; and religion, in short, reached unto every place, and gave life and animation to every part of the body politic."

'Look on that picture, and now on this.'

"Our churches are now closed in the week days, and we are too busy to repair to them; our politicians crying out with Pharaoh, 'ye are idle, ye are idle; therefore would ye go and do

sacrifice to the Lord.' Our cathedrals, it is true, are open, but where are the worshippers? Instead of entering in, the citizen avails himself of the excellent clock which is usually attached to them, sets his watch, and hastens upon 'Change, where the congregation is numerous and punctual. If a church will answer, then indeed a joint stock company springs up, and a church is raised with as much alacrity and upon the same principle as a playhouse. The day when the people brought their gifts is gone by. Sermons have contracted with the buildings in which they are delivered, consisting, like them, of less massive materials than formerly, and having for their title, *short discourses*. Look at the number of churches erected by the piety of our ancestors within the city of London, and compare them with those at the west end of the town; or take any town of modern growth, and contrast it in this particular with one of other times. At what period before our own was any serious attempt made to separate education from religion—to let loose upon society the intellectual strength of its members, with nothing whatever to direct that strength to beneficial, or even to innocent ends? Let it be asked whether, on the supposition that our law-proceedings were to be reconstructed, the judges would in these days be recommended to go to church before they go to court, or whether to do so would not be voted a waste of time? Whether, on a like supposition with regard to our parliament, the houses of Lords and Commons would be

instructed to begin their deliberations with prayers to God to bless them, or whether the practice would not now be considered obsolete? Whether in the plan of a modern mansion there would be found the chapel of 'the king's old courtier,' or the billiard room of 'the king's young courtier?' Whether on building a poorhouse the parish officers would now think of inscribing over the door, '*Deo et pauperibus?*' Whether on a reproduction of our liturgy, prayers would be found in it for deliverance from plague, pestilence, and famine, or whether such petitions would not be thought reflections upon the state of philosophy amongst us, when political economy, and medical police, and agricultural meetings, are understood by so many thinking persons to render a superintending Providence of comparative little consequence?"

Another work, called Blackwood's Magazine, was established also on purpose to oppose the doctrine of the Edinburgh Review, by Professor Wilson of Edinburgh; Mr. Lockhart, the son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott; &c. &c. This Journal says, "The coming danger is already signified to us by the recklessness of crime which begins to prevail among the lower orders; the prohibition of law is no longer strong enough to restrain those who are maddened by a contemplation of the riches of others, compared with their own poverty: they take by craft or by force that which, from the altered state of affairs, they can no longer expect to share by the exertion of honest labour. These things are no more than the breakers which

may enable us to see at a distance the rocks against which we are steering. Let but the present order of things go on, and the common people of England will, ere long, become like the common people of Ireland; the laws and establishments of the country they will look upon merely as inventions for their oppression, contrivances which it is their interest not to support, but to break down; and we know not what power it is which is to resist the common people of England, if they become possessed with notions such as these. They are not, like the impetuous and fickle Irish, to be managed when they smart under settled conviction of a wrong. It cannot be too frequently, too earnestly, too energetically enforced upon the attention of all who have any influence in the making of the laws, that the present moral and physical condition of the labouring classes is most deplorable, and that the country cannot long continue in such a state."

The next witness that shall be called to give evidence, is one who holds an office within the very precincts of the palace, even no less a personage than the Poet Laureate, Mr. Southey. His opinion, as promulgated in a work just published, is as follows: "Flatter not yourselves with delusive expectations. To descry that great struggles are yet to come, is within the reach of human foresight; that great tribulations must needs accompany them; and that these may be, you know not how near, at hand. Throughout what is called the Christian world there will be

a contest between impiety and religion ; the former is everywhere gathering strength, and whenever it breaks loose, the foundations of human society will be shaken. Do not suppose that you are safe from this danger, because you are blest with a pure creed, a reformed ritual, and a tolerant church. Even here the standard of impiety has been set up ; and the drummers who beat the march of intellect through your streets, lanes, and market-places, are enlisted under it. The struggle between Popery and Protestantism is renewed ; and let no man deceive himself by a vain reliance upon the increased knowledge or improved humanity of the times. Wickedness is ever the same ; and you never were in so much danger from moral weakness.

“ Co-existent with these struggles is that between the feudal system of society as variously modified throughout Europe, and the levelling principle of democracy. That principle is actively and indefatigably at work in these kingdoms, allying itself, as occasion may serve, with popery or with dissent, with atheism or with fanaticism, with profligacy or with hypocrisy, ready confederates, each having its own sinister views, but all acting to one straight forward end. Your rulers, meantime, seem to be trying that experiment with the British constitution which Mithridates is said to have tried upon his own ; they suffer poison to be administered in daily doses, as if they expected that by such a course the public mind would at length be rendered poison proof.

“The first of these struggles will affect all Christendom; the third may once again shake the monarchies of Europe. The second will be felt widely; but nowhere with more violence than in Ireland, that unhappy country wherein your government, after the most impolitic measures into which weakness was ever deluded, or pusillanimity intimidated, seems to have abdicated its functions, contenting itself with the semblance of an authority which it has wanted either wisdom or courage to exert.

“There is a fourth danger—the growth of your manufacturing system; and this peculiarly your own. You have a great and increasing population, exposed at all times, by the fluctuations of trade, to suffer the severest privations in the midst of a rich and luxurious society, under little or no restraint from religious principle; and if not absolutely disaffected to the institutions of the country, certainly not attached to them: a class of men aware of their numbers and of their strength; experienced in all the details of combination; improvident when they are in the receipt of good wages, yet feeling themselves injured when those wages, during some failure of demand, are so lowered as no longer to afford the means of comfortable subsistence; and directing against the government and the laws of the country, their resentment and indignation for the evils which have been brought upon them by competition, and the spirit of rivalry in trade. They have among them intelligent heads and daring minds; and

you have already seen how perilously they may be wrought upon, by seditious journalists and seditious orators, in a time of distress.

“ On what do you rely for security against these dangers? On public opinion?—you might as well calculate upon the constancy of wind and weather in this uncertain climate. On the progress of knowledge?—it is such knowledge as serves only to facilitate the course of delusion. On the laws?—the law, which should be like a sword in a strong hand, is weak as a bulrush if it be feebly administered in time of danger. On the people?—they are divided. On the parliament?—every faction will be fully and formidably represented there? On the government?—it suffers itself to be insulted and defied at home, and abroad it has shown itself incapable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with its allies, so far has it been divested of power by the usurpation of the press. It is at peace with Spain, and it is at peace with Turkey; and although no government was ever more desirous of acting with good faith, its subjects are openly assisting the Greeks with men and money against the one, and the Spanish Americans against the other. Athens, in the most turbulent times of its democracy, was not more effectually domineered over by its demagogues than you are by the press; a press which is not only without restraint, but without responsibility; and in the management of which, those men will always have most power who have least probity, and

have most completely divested themselves of all sense of honour and all regard for truth.

“ The root of all your evil is in the sinfulness of the nation. The principle of duty is weakened among you ; that of moral obligation is loosened ; that of religious obedience is destroyed. Look at the worldliness of all classes ; the greediness of the rich ; the misery of the poor ; and the appalling depravity which is spreading among the lower classes through town and country,—a depravity which proceeds unchecked because of the total want of discipline, and for which there is no other corrective than what may be supplied by fanaticism, which is itself an evil.”

Here, then, we see accomplished to the very letter, the prediction of a time when men’s hearts fail them through fear of looking for those things which are coming upon the earth.

After such confessions as these ; after publicly proclaiming in the face of Christendom that this is the state into which the ruling party has brought the country ; common sense, common decency, common deism, would demand some act of humiliation and contrition before that God whose responsible creatures it has reduced to such a pitch of misery, desperation, and vice. If such a confession of iniquity were to be made by any mortal man, not only in Christendom but in China, Ava, or the wilds of America, there is not a priest of any creed, there is not a lay believer in Fo, or Budh, or the Great Spirit, who

would not suppose that such confession was to be followed by an act of repentance, and by an endeavour of reparation to those who have been injured, and by alteration and amendment of conduct for the future. Far, however, are such humbled thoughts from the arrogant spirits of Protestant England! It is left for them to manifest that which no rulers yet have manifested—the acknowledgment of delinquency with a refusal to repent. Pharaoh, indeed, sinned with a high hand, but he had at least the decency not to make a public confession of his guilt. While Satan has engendered on Popery superstition, and legalized debauchery, he has contrived that Protestantism should give birth to open and systematic rebellion against the acknowledged God of revelation.

We have here the voluntary avowal of the organs of the party which has had the uncontrolled rule of the country for half a century, 1, that the base, and real strength of a state consists in the moral energy of the peasantry: 2, that this class is completely demoralized: 3, that religion is the only cement which can bind together the several ranks of society: 4, that religious principle is no longer to be found, and that the forms of it in parliament, the courts of law, and places of public education, though preserved, would not be established if now to be re-constituted: 5, that money-making is the ruling feeling of the nation;—and this, be it remembered,

is the confession of that party whose interest it is to present the more favourable side of the picture.

“ I make peace and create evil : I the Lord do these things.” (Isa. xlv. 7.) “ Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it ?” (Amos iii. 6.) God is the doer of all things ; and that a people should have come into this condition, is a curse from God. He never would have allowed it if the nation had walked in His ordinances. The blame does not rest exclusively upon this or that man : the fault is national ; and since it pervades every part of the community now, so has it through every phase of its progress, while the rulers have done little more than give it form, expression, and utterance. This does not indeed excuse them whose duty it was to rule the people in righteousness : their station imposed upon them double responsibility, and they will reap double punishment ; but the nation, as a nation, must and will receive its recompense of vengeance in its national capacity. “ The system which teaches us to consider a people as acting through the medium of its prince, or legislature, is too technical, too artificial, too much of a compromise with the imperfection essential to human affairs, to enter into the views, or regulate the conduct of the Supreme Being. He sees things as they are ; and as the greatest part of the crimes committed in every country are perpetrated by its inhabitants in their individual character, it is these, though not to the exclusion of others, which

chiefly provoke the divine judgments.”—*Hall*. It is as true of a nation as it is of an individual, that *nemo fuit repente turpissimus*; and we must trace back the abandonment of religious duties to their beginnings, if we would be acquainted with the causes of our actual situation.

We have seen that God implanted in the breasts of the inhabitants of England a love of His truth, and a spirit of resistance to the false pretensions of the bishop of Rome in the time of Augustine; and that He did continually maintain that spirit up to the year 1829. As devotion to God’s service carries along in its train every other blessing and privilege, God gave also the form of government which could ensure the greatest measure of power to the nation, freedom from oppression to the weak, combined with due subjection to His delegate the king, of which the present system of the world is capable; so that the constitution of England was acknowledged by all to be “the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world.” This beautiful machinery was completed by the king being required to summon his people together every year, and thereby learn from themselves what amendments were required in the various departments of the state, while his nobles had individually the right of advising their sovereign at all times at a private audience. In absolute monarchies, the sovereigns know, and can know, nothing of the real wants of the people whom they are called upon to rule: they are surrounded exclusively by persons who are employed

in carrying on the subordinate details of government, and of whose misconduct they cannot be aware. Every king who, like Alfred of England, Henry IV. of France, Peter the Great of Russia, &c., has been anxious to do justice to his people, has felt the impossibility of acquiring, by ordinary methods, a real insight into their actual condition, and into the conduct of his own servants : hence they have been obliged to resort to the expedient of going about in disguise, and in other ways descending from their royal state in order to mix unknown with their subjects. The persons whom the king appoints to assist him in the various departments of his office, in like manner, by having their whole attention engrossed by mechanical details and minutiae, lose, from the moment of their appointment, all knowledge of what is taking place throughout the country ; so that it was an observation of Lord Chatham, that a minister on leaving office is, in degree of acquaintance with the then situation of the country, only where he was when he went into it. Nothing, therefore, could give to the King of England such an insight into the real wants of his subjects, as summoning them by means of representatives, freely chosen from among themselves, into an annual council, in which he himself was present, and where he might hear all matters fully and adequately discussed. In this state the House of Hanover found the constitution of England, when God set aside the popish House of Stuart, and planted it on the ruin of its rival.

Politicians who look not to God as the author of the institutions which prevail in states, and as established by Him for the purpose of effecting some higher end, expose their folly in imagining that there is any independent and inherent efficacy in the institutions themselves. The free service of God can only be performed in peace and quietness by a free people; and he, therefore, conferred upon England the blessing of civil liberty, as the casket in which alone the jewel of religious liberty could be preserved. It was vain for Lord William Bentinck to suppose that the mere possession of popular assemblies could ensure the prosperity of popish Sicilians. It was in like manner vain in Lord Holland to fancy that such things could benefit the Neapolitans. Equally abortive have been the struggles of infidel demagogues in Spain, Portugal, Germany, and France. But every Christian state contains within itself the principles of its own regeneration, in its ancient institutions; though become obsolete, which might be brought into efficient action, whenever it shall seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness.

One of the earliest acts of the House of Hanover was to violate the constitution; and instead of summoning the council of the nation annually, or even every three years, as, though a violation of the original institution had been latterly the custom, to convene it only every seven years. It is possible that the exigency of the time might require this change; but the more urgent the necessity for it then, the more does it show that the

measure was bad, as an habitual practice, after the emergency had ceased,—as, in imminent danger to the natural body, recourse is obliged to be had to violent and extraordinary remedies; but the very danger which justifies the violence of the remedy, proves that what is required *pro re nata* is unwise to be continued in perpetuity. The court, having committed a breach upon the rights of the people with impunity in one instance, began to think that the people and the monarchy were two distinct and hostile parties, instead of two parts of one common whole. The House of Commons became, not the representatives of the people, but an instrument of governing; it assumed to itself a jurisdiction similar to that which it had exercised so perniciously in the reign of Charles I.: men exerted all their power to get into it, because on such alone were honours by the Crown bestowed. The members became corrupted, and entered the house, not as the representatives of the people, for the purpose of disinterestedly making known their wants to the King, but for the purpose of procuring benefits to themselves and their dependants. These bad principles have been acquiring force for a century; and it is now many years since the House of Commons could express to the King the real sentiments of his subjects; and therefore the King, having continued that violation of the constitution of his kingdom, to which he at first resorted only to preserve his throne, and by which alone he was enabled to rule righteously, has been blinded

to the real circumstances of his people. The House of Commons has used its power to oppress the people by taxation; by creating many offices, in order to share those offices amongst themselves and their adherents; and by exacting money from the people to pay those who fill them. The oppression is at last become so great, that many thousands of the middling classes have fled the country to avoid it, thereby adding to the misery of the poor who are left behind. "There cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation," says Milton, "than when the people, to avoid hardships at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country." That "ill-boding sign" is now manifest to a most alarming extent.

The following is a statement of the number of English residing in France, according to the returns lately made by the different police authorities to the Prefect de Police at Paris :—

Paris, 14,500; Versailles, 2,000; St. Germain, 150; Tours, 2,795; Bourdeaux, 965; Barréges, 80; Montpellier, 300; Marseilles, 120; Lyons, 60; Fontainbleau, 80; St. Quintin, 200; Dunkerque, 500; St. Omer, 700; Boulogne (sur mer), 6,800; Calais, 4,550; and in various parts of France about 1,865; making a total of 35,695. Of this number 6,680 are mechanics. Their whole annual expenditure is, on the very lowest calculation, estimated at 95,885,500 francs, or £3,635,420 sterling. To this must be added the residents in the Netherlands, Germany, Russia, and Italy, of which there are no authentic returns; but

which, if we include America, New South Wales, and Canada, must add greatly to the amount.

An idea may be conceived of the extent to which public plunder has been carried, by the fact that the number of persons holding civil offices, actually receiving salaries wrung by taxation from the people, exceeds the number of the whole military force of England at any one period, even during her most successful wars, prior to the war of the French revolution; and, in addition to this, the amount of the standing army, now in time of peace, contrary to the express letter of the laws of the country, is in like manner greater than during any of the most successful periods of war before the last.

When the variation in the value of the currency caused the incomes of persons in office to be less productive, they increased their own incomes to meet that deficiency; but when the value of the currency rose, and the ability of the people to pay their taxes became diminished, the salaries were not lowered again to their original amount. By the last trick that has been played with the currency, the salaries of all public functionaries has been greatly increased, while the suffering of the labouring population has been augmented in a corresponding degree.

The effect of this measure cannot be better described than in the language of a statement written by the labourers themselves. "By the act which extinguished the small note currency, the value of money was in effect more than

doubled; and thus all who live upon the taxes draw from those who pay them more than double the amount of produce to which they are justly entitled. This wholesale exaction falls not upon the poorer of the industrious classes alone: it falls with equal weight upon the landholder, the farmer, the artizan, the merchant, the manufacturer; in short, upon all who contribute to, but do not draw any thing from, the taxes."

Another circumstance, not so important in itself as indicative of total recklessness of the interests of the people, is seen in the measures connected with the game laws. The landed aristocracy have lately adopted, from ostentation, the fancy to keep large preserves of wild birds and animals; they refuse to allow any other persons but themselves to kill them, or to purchase them. There is a large body of wealthy men who will buy these wild animals wherever they are to be had; the starving labourers, therefore, are tempted to catch these wild animals, and both the aristocracy of land and the aristocracy of wealth meet in parliament to make laws to punish those offences, which they both in their private capacities create. If the landed aristocracy was more courageous and sincere, it would pass laws to punish the rich merchants who buy: but this they are afraid to do; and therefore they wreak their vengeance on the helpless and unrepresented peasantry.

In addition to all this, the taxes are made to press with accumulated severity as the scale of

society descends.' The highest-priced printed cottons, which are so costly as to be worn only by those who can afford to buy silk, pay a duty of but 10 per cent.; while the cheapest cottons, which are worn by the poorest people, pay 50 per cent. Leather is taxed by the weight: thus the shoes of the higher order, which are very light, pay little or nothing in comparison with those of the poor, which weigh many pounds. The duties on wine are only 100 per cent.; while the duties on beer are 175 per cent. Almost every other article of taxation presses in the same manner.

We have indisputable evidence of the extent of privation to which the poor are reduced, furnished by the publication of the rates of allowance made by the magistrates in various parts of England; particularly in Warwickshire, Suffolk, Essex, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Sussex, and Surrey. Within the last few years, houses of correction have been built all over England, in which the allowance of food to the convicts therein confined is (and very properly) the coarsest and lowest upon which it is possible to sustain life without engendering low disease; to guard against the approach of which, a surgeon is compelled by law to be in constant attendance. In these houses, it appears by the tables, the lowest amount on which, taking the average, it is possible to support the convicts, is sixpence per head per day: this sum being for food alone; lodging, clothing, fuel, medical attendance, and

all contingencies, being provided besides. It is a fact, therefore, which cannot be controverted, and an actual witness against itself which every county has raised in its own centre, that at the present prices of provision, sixpence is the lowest sum on which any human being can live in health for a single day. If it had not been for these jails, we might have been at a loss to know exactly what the lowest amount was which could support life; but now we are without excuse. It will take up too much space to transcribe all the rates of allowance above mentioned; we therefore must select one; and that of the Stourminster division of magistrates is best, because it is a mean among them all; though, indeed, there is little or no difference between any of them.

“The present price of the quartern loaf being 10*d.*, the weekly allowance to be made up, including earnings, is as follows:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For a labouring man	2	7
For a woman, boy, or girl, above four- teen years old	2	0
For a boy or girl, of fourteen to twelve	1	7
For do. eleven to nine	1	4
For do. under nine	1	3.”

A family, therefore, of five persons of the several ages above specified, will have 8*s.* 9*d.* per week, out of which they are to provide not only food, but lodging, clothes, fuel, for sickness, bedding, and all other casualties. But if the

family had broken into a farmer's house, robbed his larder, or stole his sheep, and had been condemned to hard labour in the house of correction, they would each have had sixpennyworth of food every day, making 17s. 6d., being exactly twice as much for food alone as they have while remaining honest and industrious; and would have been provided with dry and warm lodging, clothes, and all other casualties besides.

Such an excitement to dishonesty and crime as this was never held out by the rulers of any nation before. Where select vestries are established, and the poor thereby farther removed from the protection of the magistrate, the labourers are still more ground down. From a trial at the Quarter Sessions recently held at Reading, it appeared that the overseers appointed by the select vestry of Swallowfield had reduced all the labourers in their parish to a far worse condition, and defended their conduct by every quirk which the law allowed.

The consequence of all this is, that it was proved before the committee of the House of Commons, on the state of the agricultural labourers, that in Sussex, "forty years ago, every labouring man in the parish where he (the witness) lived, brewed his own beer at his own house; and that now not a single labourer of the parish did the same thing." Another evidence stated, that in Somersetshire the labourers lived almost exclusively upon potatoes; and having been asked what they carried out into the fields, to eat during

the day, he answered that they took cold potatoes. Sir E. Wilmot, chairman of the quarter sessions of Warwickshire, says, "Our prisons are infinitely more comfortable, and the food in them much more certain and palatable than nine out of ten enjoy at their own homes; and thus their condition is really improved by the very means employed as a punishment."

The condition to which the agricultural labourers are reduced, is most striking when contrasted with that which it was, even within our own memory. The taste of butchers' meat is unknown. They used to make the barley, which they grew in their large gardens, or which their wives and children gleaned, into malt: now they are prohibited by the farmers from gleaning in the barley stubbles, and by law from making malt, and consequently they have wholly ceased to brew. When they brewed at home, the wife and children partook of it: now, if a labourer requires any thing but water, he must go to the public-house,—to which he resorts more for the sake of a good fire when he is wet and cold,—and there imbibe a draught of molasses and tobacco, manufactured by some neighbouring monopolizer, and facetiously vended under the name of beer. The suffering of the poor, from want of fuel in wet weather, with its train of rheumatism, ague, and typhus, is very severe; the inclosure of waste lands has much tended to increase it, and also by enhancing the price of fire-wood. Their clocks have disappeared; the pewter plates are gone; the warm

clothing of woollen, made at home, has been exchanged for the flimsy cold cotton of the manufactory. These things, the nothings of the philosopher, the all of the labourers' comforts, have been sponged away by taxation, without raising the voice of one tax-eater in parliament; while a clamour, as loud as it was senseless, has been raised by them all, whenever a reduction of the debt has been declared to be inevitable, if we would prevent an explosion of the whole system: for if any one fancies that an English labourer, in time of famine, will lie down, eat dung, be content with extreme unction, and die quietly, as the poor papists in Ireland have done, he is as ignorant of the character of the people about whom he dreams, as he is of that of the inhabitants of the moon.

While this is the state of the labouring people, the soldiers are paid double what they were paid forty years ago; and while the allowance to the labouring man is as we see above, the lowest of the foot soldiers are paid seven shillings and sevenpence a week, and are secured meat and bread at a low fixed price, and have fuel, candle-light, clothing, and lodging furnished them in addition. Formerly the pay of the soldier was not half so much as the common wages of the labouring man; now it is more than double the amount of those wages; which fact alone, if there were no other, would be sufficient to enable any man to judge of the fearful change which has taken place in this country. The Earl of Caer-

narvon declared in the House of Lords, that the whole of the labourers surrounding his parish in the north of Hampshire were either poachers or thieves ; and Lord Huntingfield, at a meeting of an association for the prevention of crime, said that " the state of the agricultural population was deplorable ;" and mentioned that, during the recent harvest, " such crowds had attacked his fields to glean in them, that he was obliged to hire a constable at half-a-crown a-day to keep them in order."

The cause of this misery being the oppression of taxation, by which the higher order are benefited at the expense of the lower, the primary duty of the King is to reduce it. As the first end of civil government is for the protection of the poor and helpless against the rich and the powerful, because, as Paley well observes, the rich can take abundant care of themselves ; so is that end entirely subverted, when governments are made use of to assist the rich in their plunder of the poor. We have seen, however, that the tendency of every measure which the government has pursued, has been to rob the poor, and put the money into the pockets of the rich. Thus the end for which civil government is established and preserved by God is subverted ; and the same fidelity which causes Him to bestow the blessings of tranquillity upon a state which walks in obedience to His laws, must cause Him to withhold that blessing from a state that systematically acts in violation of them.

It is the duty of those who surround the person of the King, to suggest to his majesty the details of all measures which are necessary to be adopted ; for the success of which they alone are responsible. Nothing can be more unwise than for those who are not in that situation, to incur the responsibility of advising the adoption of acts which they have not the power to carry into effect. But since in the present instance nothing was required but an honest anxiety to benefit the people, and retrace the steps by which we have been led, by the confession of our rulers themselves, from a state of prosperity to the acme of suffering and moral degeneracy—nay, even to the very verge of revolution,—it is proper to point out the very simple methods by which the country might have been saved.

“If we are to keep our place, it is,” says the Quarterly Review, “indispensably necessary that every incumbrance should be removed which clogs the activity and energy of individuals or the government. Every part of the machine of society must be adapted to the increased exertion it is called upon to make. If this be so, every branch of our public and private economy ; the administration of the affairs of parishes and countries ; the state of charities ; corporations ; public schools ; colleges ; the law ; the church ; and the whole management of our foreign dependencies, must necessarily submit to examination and amendment. Wealthy as the country is, and attached to ancient institutions as it has

always wisely been, it can no longer support the burden of places or proceedings which can be simplified or dispensed with. While no branch of our institutions ought to be touched which can be safely let alone, there yet exists an imperative necessity for submitting many of them to alteration. When the situation of a state becomes really critical; when its affairs require to be effectually disentangled; it is neither to men of mere routine, nor to proficients in statistical calculation, and the metaphysics of political economy, that the wise will look."

Without entering into the propriety of the last war with France, or of the mode in which it was conducted, the moment that God had blessed our exertions and restored us to peace, the first duty of the King was to revert to the ancient principles and only true basis of his prosperity. He should have re-established the small states of Genoa, Venice, the Hans Towns, &c., which had been swallowed up by that power, and by that system, which we pretended we were most anxious to oppose; instead of which, our ambassador, Lord Londonderry, entirely changed the whole course of our former foreign policy, and consented to the robbery of the rights of these states by their ancient neighbours and oppressors. He made, indeed, one exception in favour of the power most hateful to God and man—the power of the papal see; and while Norway was delivered over to Sweden, Saxony to Prussia, Flanders to Holland, Venice to Austria, Genoa to Sardinia, without

remorse, the ambassador of the Protestant King of Britain was the chief, if not the sole, cause of the again setting up of that abomination.

The burdens of the country amount, at the present moment, to upwards of sixty millions per annum. To reduce this, all the crown lands, which conduce neither to the personal comfort nor public splendor of the King, should have been sold; such as the estates in London, the New Forest, Richmond, Eltham, Kew, &c. It is true; indeed, that the pecuniary product would have been small, but the moral effect upon all classes, and especially upon that class which was most likely to be turbulent,—the aristocracy,—would have been immense. The whole of the standing army ought to have been dismissed, with the exception of the household troops. Foreign policy alike required this. We held out that we were anxious to preserve peace: no way of preserving it is so effectual as to want the means of breaking it; and our example would have induced the continental nations to lay down their arms also. We could have done this at less risk than they, from our insular situation and from the extent of our fleets. Two causes were alleged for retaining an army: the one was to overawe the manufacturing districts; the other to overawe the slaves in the colonies. Local police was the only legitimate mode of effecting the one; and the punishment of men-stealers and dealers in human blood, the only way of properly effecting the other. The excuse was founded in

oppression and wrong, mixed with falsehood also: for an additional motive was withheld, which is, that the commissions might be held by the sons and dependents of the aristocracy; whereby they might be supported out of the taxes, instead of out of the private fortunes of their fathers.

All monopolies and exclusive privileges should have been abolished. Plunderers and robbers of every class mask their wicked purposes under some softer name: that on a large scale is called protection: the landowners have obtained a law to force the poor to buy no other corn but that which is grown on their lands, by which means they wring, in addition to all other taxes, twelve millions a year out of the pockets of the corn-eaters. Trade in every article of produce should have been thrown completely open.

The effect of the war was to give to the merchants of England the monopoly of the trade of the world. It also created an immense demand for corn, of which, in like manner, the landowners of England had the monopoly. When peace returned, the former monopoly could not be retained: but the landowners having the majority of votes in parliament, procured a law to be passed by which their monopoly might be continued. Mr. Huskisson, and all other competent statesmen, perceived that perfect unrestriction of commerce would alone ensure to this country a pre-eminence in trade over other countries; and accordingly, with the help of Lord Wallace,

modified existing laws to meet the new necessities. The landowners, perceiving that every argument which could be used in favour of free trade applied with greater force to that in corn than in any other article, have artfully endeavoured to persuade the people that free trade has been impolitic, and has given to foreign nations a superiority over us: the falsehood, the wicked falsehood of such an assertion will be seen by the following table. In fact, Mr. Huskisson would have gladly commenced with the corn, which he knew to be at the bottom of the whole system; but he dare not, as he wanted to keep his place, venture to offend the landowners.

BRITISH SHIPPING.—From Parliamentary Return, No. 106, of the Shipping employed in the Trade of the United Kingdom, from 1814 to 1828.

INWARDS.					
	British.		Foreign.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	
1814.....	8,975	1,290,248	5,286	599,287	
1815.....	8,880	1,372,108	5,314	746,915	
1816.....	9,744	1,415,723	3,116	379,465	
1817.....	11,255	1,625,121	3,386	445,011	
1818.....	13,000	1,886,394	6,238	762,457	
1819.....	11,974	1,809,128	4,215	542,684	
1820.....	11,285	1,668,060	3,479	447,611	
1821.....	10,810	1,599,274	3,261	396,256	
1822.....	11,087	1,664,186	3,389	469,151	
1823.....	11,271	1,740,859	4,069	582,996	
1824.....	11,733	1,797,320	5,653	759,441	
1825.....	13,526	2,144,598	6,968	958,139	
1826.....	12,473	1,950,630	5,729	694,116	
1827.....	13,133	2,086,890	6,046	751,864	
1828.....	13,436	2,094,357	4,955	634,620	

OUTWARDS.					
		British.		Foreign.	
		Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1814.....	8,620		1,271,952	4,622	602,941
1815.....	8,892		1,398,688	4,701	751,377
1816.....	9,044		1,340,277	2,579	399,160
1817.....	10,713		1,558,336	2,905	440,622
1818.....	11,445		1,715,488	5,399	734,649
1819.....	10,250		1,562,332	3,795	556,511
1820.....	10,102		1,549,508	2,969	433,328
1821.....	9,797		1,488,644	2,626	383,786
1822.....	10,023		1,539,260	2,843	457,542
1823.....	9,666		1,546,976	3,437	563,571
1824.....	10,157		1,657,533	5,026	746,707
1825.....	10,848		1,793,994	6,075	905,520
1826.....	10,844		1,737,425	5,410	692,440
1827.....	11,481		1,887,682	5,714	767,821
1828.....	12,248		2,006,397	4,405	608,118

Thus it appears that there has been a uniform and continued increase in favour of England ; and thus the conduct of the landowners, in holding up Mr. Huskisson to public obloquy, is shown to be wicked, false, and malevolent.

The salaries of all servants of the Crown should have been reduced one-half, and all sinecures abolished. The salaries of the royal family, and all ministers of the Crown, were increased during the war, under the pretext of the increased price of provisions : the same argument, if it were honest, required their reduction when prices fell. The excuse for retaining sinecures is, that the government cannot be carried on without them : that is in effect to say, that the aristocracy is so disaffected to the established government of the country, that they would rebel against and overturn it, if they were not paid to support it.

“The private enemies,” says Mr. Burke, “to

be made in all attempts of this kind are innumerable; and their enmity will be the more bitter, and the more dangerous too, because a sense of dignity will oblige them to conceal the cause of their resentment. Very few men of great families, and extensive connexions, but will feel the smart of a cutting reform,—in some close relation, some bosom friend, some pleasant acquaintance, some dear protected dependant. Emolument is taken from some; patronage from others; objects of pursuit from all. Men forced into an involuntary independence, will abhor the authors of a blessing which in their eyes has so very near a resemblance to a curse. When officers are removed, and the offices remain, you may set the gratitude of some against the anger of others; you may oppose the friends you oblige against the enemies you provoke. But services of the present sort create no attachments. The individual good felt in a public benefit, is comparatively so small, comes round through such an involved labyrinth of intricate and tedious revolutions; whilst a present personal detriment is so heavy where it falls, and so instant in its operation, that the cold commendation of a public advantage never was, and never will be, a match for the quick sensibility of a private loss; and you may depend upon it, that when people have an interest in railing, sooner or later they will bring a considerable degree of unpopularity upon any measure. So that, for the present at least, the reformation will operate against the reformers; and revenge,

(as against them, at the least) will produce all the effects of corruption."

It is for these reasons that no minister of the Crown, but he who looks to God for support, and relies upon His arm to uphold him, will ever venture to effect such measures as can alone save the country from falling : and the aristocracy as a body, vainly imagining that however bad the state of affairs may be, it will at least last their time, are willing to invest their all in this desperate lottery, and will rather risk the result of a civil war, and universal revolution, than peaceably resign their sinecures, places, monopolies, and all the other suicidal fruits of oppression and corruption.

This case also furnishes an example of the many instances wherein duties cannot be delegated. Every one finds it much more difficult to censure and oppose the evils of his equals, than of his superiors or dependants. The minister could more easily effect a retrenchment of the personal expenses of the king, than, by abolishing sinecures, compel his brother placemen to live upon diminished incomes : and he could oppress the people, till revolt should teach him that they would submit to the pressure no longer, without the smallest objections escaping the lips of those who shared the spoil. But to carry havoc into the ranks of sinecurists, monopolists, and jobbers, would be to engage in a war far more difficult than the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras, or the plains of Waterloo. The King alone can

do it: he alone can command his minister to effect the details; and he alone can support him in the contest. This conduct would reap the reward that God always bestows upon the righteous performance of plain duty; and the love of the people, and their prosperity, would assuredly follow his exertions. It is a fatal error for any one to suppose that he can perform duties by deputy: he may require assistants, but cannot allow of deputies. No one can abandon the responsibilities of the situation in which God has placed him: neglect will not remove responsibility, though it is sure to induce the penalties of its violation. While it is wise that the King of England should have an adviser amenable to the laws for the mal-administration of the affairs of his department, the King must take care that his ministers do not set him aside as a useless bauble to be shown on particular occasions, like a puppet in fine clothes for children to stare at. Let his ministers be deputies whenever the infuriated mob are thirsting for human blood, and let them lose their heads instead of their master; but in all other times the King who abandons the duties of his office to another, will find his country misgoverned, and his power declining.—God is not mocked: there is one particular channel in which man can be prosperous: this way He has pointed out by *His* ordinances; if they will not walk in them, misery must follow, whether it be in the case of an individual or of a nation.

Changes in the currency had produced great

confusion and intricacy into the property of every person in the kingdom; to equalize the value between the nominal and real, the paper and the metallic, prices of the public debt, mortgages, jointures, leases, &c. was impossible. As some parties must be hurt by any change; and as some change was indispensable, that should have been made which would have most reduced the pressure of taxation: instead of which, that change was made which most increased it; and added to the value of the salaries of the placemen themselves. The paper currency ought to have been continued: but instead of allowing needy adventurers to usurp the prerogative of the King, and coin and issue money all over the kingdom, the Bank of England alone should have been empowered to do it; and the amount in circulation should have been fixed by law. By this means the directors of that institution would not have had the power to change the value of every person's property according to their caprice; the fluctuations in quantity, which would have preserved the value of the currency, would have taken place in the coin, and thus the equilibrium would have been always preserved. The government, in giving this exclusive right to the Bank of England, would have been enabled to make such terms with it as would have defrayed its debt to that corporation; and the Bank would have been free from that connexion with the treasury which has always proved detrimental to the people. The public funds would have risen above par, and money

might have been borrowed upon terminable annuities, the amount of which should have been applied to paying off those that are now perpetual: for the amount of the debt is not so properly viewed in the bulk of £800,000,000, as a certain amount of perpetual annuities of £60,000,000. A tax also should have been laid upon every transfer of stock, which should have gone also to a direct reduction of the debt.

In order to relieve the sufferings which the poor are now enduring, all impediments ought to be instantly removed which prevent their malting their own barley, brewing their own beer, making their own candles and soap, tanning their own leather, salting their own bacon, and baking their own bricks for building and repairing their houses. At present, not only are the poor driven to a state of the utmost destitution, but every obstacle is placed in the way of their emancipating themselves from it; and then they are held up by political economists, and placemen, and speculators in poor laws, as vermin that are a nuisance to the community, and who ought to be starved out, or banished, under the mild term of emigration, from off the face of the land.

With respect to Ireland, the mode in which that wretched country has ever been governed, is the acknowledged opprobrium of British statesmen. Lord Redesdale, who was chancellor there many years, declared that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. Honest determination to remedy this evil would soon have

effected it. In the mean time, the nobleman of highest rank resident in each county in Ireland should have been appointed its Lord Lieutenant, and made answerable for the magistracy under him. The ancient law of compelling each hundred or barony to be responsible for all depredations committed within it, should have been enforced, and extended to life and limb by pecuniary fine, as well as to destruction of property ; by which means not only would the peace be preserved easily, but, if disturbances did break out, the expense of quelling them would be incurred by the disturbed districts alone. Every part of the civil administration should have been rendered conformable to that of England, and the Lord Lieutenancy abolished. Poor-laws should have been established there ; that is, some legal provision by which every man who is willing to labour should be entitled to receive, in return for that labour, a sufficiency of the necessaries of life. Since the want of resident gentry is a great public evil, the large estates of absentees, such as those of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Landsdown, &c. should be assessed by juries, and the owners compelled to sell certain portions in lots, upon being demanded, at their valuation ; upon the same principle that the houses of tradesmen are pulled down and paid for, in the metropolis, whenever the public benefit requires it.

The custom of choosing the parliament more frequently ought to have been restored ; and the qualifications of voters made conformable to the

changes in the nature of property which have taken place since it was last fixed: and the King has already received one lesson of the effect of attempting to tax those who are unrepresented, in the loss of America. Every statesman, who has been held up to the admiration of the people for the last half century, has declared that the state of the House of Commons was wicked and corrupt; that is, that the persons who procured themselves to be sent there, did this for private, selfish, avaricious, and dishonourable ends: that the plunder of the poor was their object; that the people were oppressed by their means; and that they betrayed their constituents. The great Lord Chatham constantly maintained that the venality of the House of Commons "had alienated the minds of the people, and made them disaffected to the Parliament, and to the King." He foretold that "the people of this kingdom will never submit to such barefaced tyranny; they must see it is time to rouse, when their own creatures dare to assume a power" over them.—"The influence of the Crown is become so enormous, that some stronger bulwark must be erected for the defence of the constitution. The act for constituting septennial parliaments must be repealed. Formerly, the inconveniences attending short parliaments had great weight with me; but now we are not debating upon a question of convenience: our all is at stake; our whole constitution is giving way; and therefore, with the most deliberate and solemn

conviction, I declare myself a convert to triennial parliaments. Before the end of this century either the parliament will reform itself from within, or be reformed with a vengeance from without." Mr. Pitt, his son, declared, that "the defects which the most enlightened men had found in the representation of the Commons, had given them reason to apprehend the most alarming consequences to the constitution, and which threatened at last totally to destroy the most beautiful fabric of government in the world. That the frame of our constitution had undergone material alterations, by which the Commons House of Parliament had received an improper and dangerous bias, and by which indeed it had fallen greatly from that direction and effect which it was intended, and ought to have, in the constitution. That the representatives ceased to be connected with the people:" and he repeatedly declared, that "it was only corrupt ministers, who made use of the golden key of the treasury to procure that bought support which they could not obtain without bribery, who opposed all attempts to reform it." The people have often represented to the King the corruptions which have been introduced into the House of Commons; but in vain. They are now endeavouring to correct those abuses by their own strength, not with a view of making the House the mere legitimate expositor of their necessities, but with the intention of assuming the executive power into their own hands. If ever they accomplish this, it will be the first

act of a drama that can only end as that did in France, when the people there in like manner became the governing party. But to this point there is every reason to apprehend the blindness of the King and of his ministers will drive them. The King ought to summons a fresh parliament every year. It rests in his breast alone to do so. No adventurer would then find it worth his while to ruin himself in order to become a member. The rotten boroughs would cease to be an evil, and be rather a good. The influence of property, which is inalienable from the possession of wealth, would be felt only as much as it ought to be; and the government of the country would cease to be exclusively, as it is now, in the hands of two rapacious sets of boroughmongers; who, to use Sir F. Burdett's words "lord it alike over the King and the people."

The increase of numbers, wealth, and power, of the middling class, rendered it necessary to establish another university for their instruction. This should have been founded in London, and placed under the superintendence of the metropolitan bishop: and this subject brings us to another most important point which has not hitherto been touched, and that is the state of the Established Church.

The odious farce of a *congé d'elire* ought to be abolished: and the election of the bishops really lodged in the body of the clergy, as in pristine times; a simple veto being left in the Crown, in case the choice should ever fall upon a bad subject.

The pay of the clergy ought to have been rendered more equal,—instead of allowing a bishop to enjoy an income greater than any civil functionary in the state, whilst hundreds of his brethren in the ministry have not a decent subsistence. Schools ought to have been established in every parish, under the controul of the minister. Part of the revenues of the church ought to have been devoted to building additional churches; and livings in populous towns ought to have been subdivided.

“ The revenues of the Church of England are by no means too large, but they are most unequally, absurdly, and indecently distributed. The moderation which the gospel enjoins; the example which its ministers are required to exhibit of indifference to temporal things and devotedness to things eternal; the example of our Lord, of his apostles, and of the primitive church;—all unite in enforcing the necessity of a very different ‘order’ being introduced into ‘the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.’ And it is obvious even to the common sense of mankind, that while her episcopal form of government requires a diversity of order among the clergy, and a consequent diversity of income, that difference ought not to be regulated arbitrarily, or so as to present in any case a provocative to indulgence in the pomps and vanities of the world, and thus a temptation to the minister of God to offer a pattern of self-indulgence, rather than self-denial; or, on the other hand, by an insufficiency of income to expose him to the

anxieties and contempt of poverty; but by a prudent and considerate distribution of its resources, to make such provisions as shall maintain a suitable congruity between the duties of the office, and the expenditure which natively and properly attaches to it.

“In vain shall we look through every order of civil society, or of military life, for such reprehensible discrepancies as disfigure, in this respect, our venerable and beloved church. Who derives from the country such a princely income as the Bishop of Durham? Does the commander of the forces? Does the chief justice of England? What representative of majesty in foreign parts? What minister of the crown?—The prime minister of England has no such emoluments. The princes of the blood are poor in comparison.

“There is an incongruity in this state of things, contemplated in this one light. That a single minister of that church which, ‘though in the world, is not,’ if a true church, ‘of the world,’ should draw from the country far larger emoluments than those of any of its civil or military dignitaries, is truly and absolutely incongruous.

“But this single view discloses not one half of the subject, and even what is presented cannot be seen in a true light, till contemplated as a part of the whole. We must not only gaze upon the gilded pinnacles of the temple, but contemplate, in its penury and debasement, the broad basis from which they spring. And here—where is the gentleman so low, so poverty-stricken, so de-

pressed, as a very large proportion of the active and efficient labourers in the rich and beautiful vineyard of the Church of England? In the sacred profession, as in others, it is to be expected that those who cannot obtain employment, or who have lost it, should be exposed to pecuniary distress. We speak not of these. We speak only of those who are spending their full strength in her service; and we believe in no profession—army, navy, law, physic—is such poverty and destitution to be found: and *that* among those who have peculiarly and eminently the weight of the labour laid upon them. Where is the gentleman in any of the other professions who would receive cast-off raiment? And yet there are *multitudes* of gentlemen (gentlemen in every sense of the word) in this holy calling, who are now receiving, with tears of thankfulness, old clothes which our footmen and maid-servants would not wear.

“To honest poverty is attached no shame. We have the highest authority for stating that effective and saving Christianity is more frequently united to it, than to the riches and splendour of the church, or of the world. In the time of necessity, and even in circumstances of bare expediency, it may be the privilege and glory of the ministers of Christ to let their hands minister to their necessities. But when a nation has provided liberally for the endowments of its church; when all its clergy might be placed in comfort and independence; when the prayer of Agur,

‘Give me neither poverty nor riches,’ might be realised in the case of all ;—to have a portion of them rolling in cumbrous and unseemly wealth, and a still larger body sunk in abject and anxious poverty, is primarily and eminently disgraceful to the church, and reflects dishonour and disgrace on the nation. If, through the instrumentality of *charity*, the apostle recommended that an *equality*, not absolute but approximate, should be made in the circumstances of *two* churches, with what accumulated force, with what Christian propriety, may *such* an equality be enforced among the ministers of the same church—‘I mean not that other men be eased and you burdened, but that your abundance may be a supply for their want, that there may be equality.’

“The glaring inconsistencies, the manifest injustice, the anti-christian character and tendency of this system, the dark and wide-spreading evils of which it is the living spring, have been long seen and lamented by the wise and the good ; but brooded over rather with the blackness of despair, than contemplated with the cheerfulness of hope. Hence pluralities. Hence non-residence. Hence the removal of bishops from see to see, exposing them, as men of like passions with ourselves, to temptation, to unworthy compliances, and *the order* to unmerited obloquy and scorn. Hence the disgraceful spectacle of one class of men doing the duties of cures, and another drawing their emoluments. Hence one man *nominally* doing the duty of two or three parishes. Hence

the man to whom is committed the care of 1,000 or 10,000 souls, of whom he must give an account, wasting his strength and best hours in teaching pupils. Hence, again, the multiplication of dissent. Hence the gross ignorance of all classes on religious subjects ; the infidelity ; the scepticism ; the indifference ; the mere nominal attachment to the church and to religion, which is so prevalent. Hence the imminent danger of the church and of the country. Many of the practices which we have mentioned act and re-act on one another ; strengthen and support each other : but we are persuaded that an attentive consideration of the subject will strengthen the impression that THAT glaring evil to which our attention has at present been more immediately called, lies at the foundation of the whole, and that its destruction would so loosen the whole framework of corrupt materials, as to make its overthrow comparatively easy.

“ His Majesty as temporal head of the church, and the Parliament as the constituted guardians of the rights of the people, are alike bound, by their duty to the church, to the country, and to their God, to appropriate its temporalities in such a manner as shall most conduce to its safety and prosperity, and to the moral and religious improvement of the nation at large. That this is as far from being the case at present, as is easily to be imagined, is admitted ; that an improvement is urgently required, is generally acknowledged : and we are persuaded that the difficulties which

are conceived to encompass a work of this kind, though it is conceded they assume a formidable appearance, would melt away before an honest, enlightened, determined, yet prudent and deliberate system of reformation.

“What is above measure to be desired at the present crisis of the history of the Church of England, is, that one of its dignitaries (if more are not be found) should step forward to its aid with apostolic fervour and simplicity; with a complete crucifixion of self-interest, applying that term equally to the order to which he belongs, as individually; disincumbering himself from the prejudices of education, from the lordly force of habit, from the undue influence of men of ability and power, but whose views are partially or wholly secular and worldly, whose endeavour it is to rest the church on an arm of flesh fully more than on a spiritual but Almighty support; looking calmly and deliberately to the fitness of things, as unfolded in the divine record, and pressing after them through good and evil report with energy and perseverance.

“What a prospect before him! What permanent good to be accomplished! What a long train of evils to be dissipated! What a name to be acquired, which future generations should rise to bless! What a crown of glory in the heavens! How low in comparison—how utterly mean, grovelling, and contemptible, the ease, the elegance, the splendour, the luxury of the most princely revenues, and all the accompanying advantages

of high station and extensive power! But we stop. God is never in want of instruments to accomplish his purposes of mercy, any more than his works of vengeance. But He must form them. And there are many in all stations of life, who are humbly, and with acceptance, doing the work which he has given them to do, who have no capacity for such efforts as those to which we have been adverting. Let the apostolic benediction encircle them all—‘Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.’—**RECORD.**

We must, however, examine the state of the church in a more important point of view than its mere wealth and temporalities. From the first moment that God formed into a nation the believers in His Revelation, He constituted that same nation into a church co-extensive with the nation; that is, He gave it ecclesiastical rites, ceremonies, and privileges, parallel with its national laws, upon the observance of which it was blessed both temporally and spiritually. The same persons, however, which exercised office in one department, were not permitted to exercise office in another. The King and the Priest were not to be united in one person; the Church was to be under the Civil Power, and the leading sin of the Popish apostacy, as was observed above, consisted in placing itself *above* the civil power. The office of the church was to remind both kings and people of their duty. For since it is ever the tendency of those who possess power to forget that

they have received that power from God, and ought to use it for the protection of the weak, the business of the church was to be a living and perpetual monument, and witness for God, thereby remonstrating with, and keeping her members of every rank in all obedience and duty. The priests of Israel and Judah, however, forgot this their office ; became " dumb dogs, greedy, and given to slumber : " neglected their flocks, flattered the kings, and instead of remonstrating with them, and opposing their idolatrous practices, joined with them, and perverted the word of the Lord to sanction their abominations. God therefore raised up from time to time prophets ; men, generally not of the priesthood, who, filled with His Spirit, set at nought the ordinary conduct and maxims of society, cared little for the objects of sense and temporal advantage which influenced others, and testified against the sins, both of the priesthood and of the kings. In latter times the clergy of the Christian church have in like manner neglected their office ; flattered power till they rendered it subservient to their own ends ; entered on their sacred functions for the sake of the temporal emoluments attached to them ; perverted the truth, and destroyed that faith which they had engaged to preach.

Passing over the conduct of the popish priests, and going no farther back among the Protestants than the time of the Revolution, the peculiar and essential characteristics of Christianity have gone out of the Established Church. The vicarious suf-

ferings, and the vicarious righteousness of the Son of God, were then omitted to be inculcated ; while the opposite doctrines of human merit, in whole or in part, under some modification or other, was substituted in its place ; until at last the anti-christian theology of Bishop Tomline became the standard work of our universities. From the time of the conquest of Ireland down to this hour, the Church of England established in that country has entirely neglected to preach to nearly two-fifths of the population ; and while in Wales and in Scotland care was taken that the clergy should preach in Welsh and in Gaelic, no such object was attempted in Ireland. There certainly is no parallel to this iniquity to be found in the papal church ; and it is a wonder how any clergyman of the Church of England, particularly in Ireland, can venture to say one word against papal abomination, until he has protested publicly against this barefaced violation of common honesty in his own church. The clergy, however, though they have done no duty, have not omitted to exact the pay to which they were only entitled for service performed : they have exacted with a rigour in the ecclesiastical courts unknown to the king's courts, the last penny of their real, or assumed rights, from the starving population ; while many parishes have been without incumbents, without houses for their residence, or churches in which they could preach.

The most lucrative posts in the church have been disposed of to the retainers of the aristocracy

without the smallest reference to their piety: the chace, the race-course, the theatre, the ball-room, and the gaming-house, have all had their reverend frequenters unrebuked. The church, therefore, abandoning her duty, has been little fitted with such a beam in her own eye, to call upon the civil magistrate to cast out the mote that was in his. Before God would visit her in righteous judgment, He further evinced his long-suffering mercy by raising up Whitfield and Wesley and others, to remonstrate with her. These she cast out. At length, God having a people to gather in, and the chief of the Protestant churches neglecting to do her duty, He put it into the heart of private individuals to perform that which the constituted authorities refused to do. The duty of the church was to take care that all her children were properly instructed in their duty to God and man: this her ministers refused to do; in the great majority of parishes in England and Ireland, no means of instruction was provided.

“ We have,” says Mr. Southey, “ a numerous class of people bred in the filth and corruption of large towns and manufacturing districts, and allowed to grow up in that corruption as much neglected, and consequently becoming as depraved, as the vagrants of former times, against which so many and such severe laws were enacted. These people are unbelievers, just as savages are, (shame to us that they should be so,) because, as far as regards all moral culture, all needful instruction, all humanizing and redeeming influences, they are

like savages in the very midst of cultivated society. But as the consequences of this most culpable omission on the part of government" (of the church rather) "have been, and continue to be, they must have been far more hideous and appalling if Methodism had not intervened, and carried with it humanity and civilization, as far as it has spread, among the poor perishing creatures."

The duty of the church was to place copies of the written word of God in the hand of every one who could read it; instead of which, no endeavour whatever of the kind was made. The duty of the church was to preach the gospel to every creature; but neglecting to preach the gospel at home, it necessarily followed that her missionary duty should be abandoned also. At length, unauthorized associations of private individuals were formed for the purpose of doing that which the ecclesiastical rulers neglected to do; and the school, bible, and missionary societies were raised up, not only to gather into the fold of Christ those who are written in the Lamb's book of life, and those whom the ministers of the Church of England refused to seek after, but also to witness against their neglect, like the prophets under the former dispensation.

Although, however, it was a righteous thing in Whitfield, Wesley, and their followers, to preach the gospel, the mode by which they effected this laudable object contained in it a great evil. The seed of this evil, indeed, was sown in the time of

the Reformation. Luther and the other Reformers had a proper dread of the sin of schism; and it was long before they could be induced to separate from the body of the Christian church, nor would they do so at all until they were satisfied that the Christian church had become apostate, and that popery was THE APOSTACY predicted in the New Testament. The authority of the church was herein necessarily called in question, and the right of private judgment to determine, from the word of God, what is truth and what is apostacy, with equal necessity, insisted upon. Since the Protestant Reformation was not purely an ecclesiastical matter, but a nation was to be made Protestant also; that is, as not only a church was to be formed which should bear witness to the true priesthood of Christ, and protest against the false assumption of the priest of Rome, but a nation was to be raised up also to bear witness for the true kingship of Christ, against the lying mongrel, half priest, and half king of Rome; so did many objects purely secular mix themselves with those which were godly and spiritual. Hence, wicked men, "not having the Spirit," adopted the right of private judgment, and called in question the authority of the church for their own ends: the sin of schism was thought little of, and has now ceased to be considered a sin at all. Moreover, the church likewise gave herself airs; and although the early Protestants of the time of the Reformation, of every then existing orthodox communion, gave

each other the right hand of fellowship, it was not long before the ministers of that sect of Protestants which had been established by the Crown of England, acted as the Popish church had done before, and cast off from her every one who would not unite with her in the most trifling and unimportant forms. Hence she herself set the example of schism, by forcing out of her communion men whose piety or whose folly, whose wisdom or whose weakness, disliked her formula, her surplices, and bands, denying their ordination, and refusing even to allow them the rights of citizenship.

The duty of the non-conformists, and of Whitfield and of Wesley, was to have remonstrated with the ecclesiastical rulers; to have protested against, and rebuked their false doctrine and unholy lives; to have endured all hardness in the cause, but by no means to have set up another church. In doing this they committed a sin analogous to the Israelites, who set up an altar in Samaria. God did not, indeed, immediately withdraw his mercy from either, but He allowed the principles of their several schisms to go on to manifest themselves, and consummate their legitimate fruit. We all know the end of that of Samaria; that of dissenterism in England has been developed also in the rejection of Christ from all rule in the land. The duty of every Christian in this day remains the same, and is called into practice in every parish in which there is a minister preaching unchristian doctrines, and

inculcating the theology of Tomline, instead of that of the thirty-nine articles. The path for Christians in such a parish is to remonstrate meekly and affectionately with their pastor; praying for him in private, and uniting with each other for the purpose, and also for mutual edification in the word of God. If that prove unavailing, to represent the case to the diocesan, and there leave the matter; but never to give up attending the ordinances of God's appointment in the land, and in His house of prayer, praise, and the celebration of His sacraments; and in no case to please their itching ears by heaping to themselves teachers, thereby incurring the guilt of schism.

Part and parcel of the frequency of the sin of schism, or rather, it might be said, of the fact of there existing in the book of God such a crime, being clean forgotten and obliterated from men's minds, is contempt of the authority of the church and of its ordinances. No more deference is paid to the unanimous testimony of Christian men, or to the decision of the Catholic church, upon any one point of doctrine, than if no such authority was recognized in Scripture. The necessary consequence of this is, the rise and rapid reception of every kind of heresy; since no one will learn, but every one will begin to teach out of his own imagination, and will pay no deference to the wisdom of others who have examined into, and given an opinion on the several points of faith. In erecting separate communions, which

they call churches, the schismatics vainly pretend that their societies are more pure; proudly imagining that they can find and cultivate one single field of this cursed world in which wheat alone can grow, and no tares be found. They change their lodgings in this one great city of Babylon, and fancy they have quitted the city altogether. One who formerly dwelt in the highway of episcopacy or presbyterianism, takes up a new habitation in Baptist Close, or Independent Alley, and calls it Zion. It is as if a Jew should move from Grosvenor Square to Wapping, and dream that he was arrived in Judæa.

The ordinance of Baptism is maintained by the evangelical party, both in the church and among dissenters, to be nothing but a sign, and, as it were, a mark of freemasonry; while the high church party has adopted the popish tenet of the *opus operatum* respecting it. Preaching is considered as a mere exhibition of oratorical powers, of which, every one who hears is a competent critic, and on which he is fit to pronounce immediate and unqualified judgment. The sacrament of the Supper is held to be a sign like that of Baptism, and that it may be observed, or dispensed with, without any advantage or detriment to the soul's well-being. The right and propriety of laymen, and of the congregations to dismiss their pastors, is insisted upon by all dissenters; in pursuance of which principle many have been dismissed for attempting to teach the people that of which they were ignorant, and which they did

not choose to be taught. For the first time in the history of Christendom has the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ been openly despised by the majority of those who affected the greatest sanctity of doctrine and deportment. All these several heads would require much space to handle satisfactorily; but whoever wishes for more minute information, may easily find it elsewhere.

There is one point, however, which has been long bringing to its present crisis, and that is, the abandonment of the education of their own children by parents. To procure assistance for them is lawful and necessary: but to send them away many miles from the paternal mansion, and to keep them there for years with only occasional and distant returns home, is an enormity known only to the last century. Reverence, which is a habit of love, respect, and fear combined, is not induced nor exercised, for it can only be felt for an affectionate parent. When in after life it is wished to be called forth for God, for the king, for the country, there is nothing to call; the feeling has never existed, and cannot be created. In the despite done to all these ordinances of God is assuredly to be traced the curse which is now ready to be inflicted by judgment on this land. God is not seen nor acknowledged in the decision of His church, nor in the ordinances which He appointed for her: in Baptism, His Spirit is not believed to be bestowed: in preaching, the words of Jesus by the mouth of His minister are not listened to as such: in the sacrament of the

Supper, it is thought the soul can thrive without eating His body: into the message to be delivered by His ambassador, lay Uzziahs dare to intrude; in education of children, the duties of parents are jobbed off to a hired deputy. If the faithfulness of God is involved in blessing the observance of His ordinances, the same faithfulness requires that His curse should follow their violation.

“ In the present age much has been said, and perhaps as much written, respecting improvements in society, with comparatively but slender reference to the neglect of parental obligations, and the consequent abatement of parental authority; evils for which, by the will of God, parents alone are responsible, and which they alone can rectify and remove. Every inquiry into faction and disorder, degeneracy of morals and increase of crime, must, of necessity, prove essentially defective which does not embrace them, and the fulfilment or neglect of their obligations; for to whatever other expedients men may betake themselves, it is from the parents as such, themselves alone, over the broad surface of a city or a nation, that the restorative or remedy is to be sought and found.

“ Institutions may be formed in aid of their neglect, and an artificial state of society may, for a time, seem to be very pleasing, more especially since it is of man's devising; but however kind in its intention, and benevolent in its aspect, all such aid will in the end only increase the appetite for help, where help is noxious, whenever it exceeds

advice or warning. Christianity in its progress, it is true, has in every land, whether civilized or savage, to fight every inch of its way; but still it comports with enlightened and impartial observation, that in the degeneracy or neglect of domestic duty, and the relaxation of parental authority, we see the most certain tokens of a nation approaching the brink of ruin and the day of just retribution. Before this neglect and relaxation, the huge monuments of commercial enterprise and art, the luxurious plenty of refined life, and the substantial enjoyments of all inferior ranks, will be swept away. Education as such, if by this is meant purchased tuition, of whatever description, or improvements in education, could not save such a people. The school of learning and the school of arts must prove alike in vain. The bands of human society, which no human legislation can supply, and for which human sagacity, at its full stretch, can devise no expedient, are in such a case loosened. What, then, though every thing which can more speedily enlighten the infant mind, or regulate the more advanced periods of youth and manhood, be proposed? What though every thing which can profitably employ the vacant hour of the artisan be devised? Nay, what though methods are adopted with a view to the advancement of the kingdom of God, both abroad and at home? Does that nation forget, or seem to forget, all the while, not only that we are a governed race, but that by certain fixed

principles and general laws, we are governed by the Almighty?

“Let but one only of these be disdained, or even forgotten—say, the impervious, and unchanging, and universal obligations of the domestic circle;—then in vain shall that people apply many medicines, in vain desire prompt and efficient restoratives, in vain begin with the infant only, in order to banish the long-formed habits of the man. The cruel, or careless, or unprincipled devourers of the country’s vital interests, are to be found neither in prisons nor in banishment; but below the domestic roof; and while they there remain, and there disdain, or only neglect their obligations, in spite of improvements in prison discipline, and continual transportation; in spite of the tread-wheel and the gibbet; nay, in spite of schemes formed in aid of parental negligence, though all the ingenuity which belongs to human benevolence should never go weary of devising and applying them; still juvenile delinquency goes on apace; the criminal calendar doubles; and the charge of the judge to the grand jury is found at the next assize to have been only water spilt upon the ground. His advice might be extolled, and even imbibed by some, but the *particeps criminis* was not present; perhaps I should say, *causa latet; vis est notissima*.”—*Ander-son*.

Of all the various methods by which God “visits the sins of the fathers upon the children

unto the third and fourth generation of them that despise his commandments," there is none so obvious as that which flows from the neglect of parents towards their own children ; and in this, perhaps more than in any other point, is it to be seen, that "the foundations of the earth are out of course."

God being lost sight of in the ordinances of the church, and in the various branches of private relationship, whether of husband and wife, or parent and child, it is not to be imagined that he could be honoured in the more remote connexion of master and servant, subject and sovereign. Accordingly, in the former of these there is an absolute abandonment on the part of masters, of all care of the spiritual instruction and conduct of their domestic servants in the higher, and of their apprentices in the lower walks of life. With respect to the honouring of God in the duties of sovereign and subject, although the Common Prayer Book of the Established Church inculcates, and the King and his ministers are therefore bound to believe that Kings are only delegates of Christ, and hold their authority from Him, to be used for the benefit of His people, all reference to religion as a rule of state, or mode of regulating the affairs of this Christian Protestant nation, has been treated with open mockery in Parliament by the servants of the King, acting in his name. The only object for which this little kingdom was upheld ; namely, to be the witness for God against the Papal abomination, no longer

exists, for the nation has refused to do so any more; and it has been formally argued, and adopted as a principle of rule, that heathens, apostates, and heretics of every description are as fit to be governors over Christ's people, as those in whom the Spirit of the eternal God dwells. A doctrine originally broached by infidels, but to which the party called evangelical, for the most part, has now subscribed. All creeds, therefore, being put upon an equality, there is no possible pretext, or shadow of a reason by which it can be justified to tax the community at large for the support of one sect. The downfall of the Established Church, that is, the refusal, on the part of the people to pay its ministers, follows as a necessary consequence. But woe will be to the sacrilegious hand that shall dare to divert to secular purposes that which has been once devoted to the service of the Lord. Nevertheless, the judgment that falls upon the church, as a body, will be a righteous affliction for her apostacy; and on her own account she will fall unpitied, and unmourned.

One essential peculiarity of Christianity is, that it is directed to be addressed especially to the poor. By the illegal system of dividing the churches and chapels into pews, the mass of the people are directly excluded from all advantages whatever of the National Church Establishment, and it is scarcely more than a just application of the *lex talionis*, that the people should now exclude the Church Establishment from the face of the land.

To suit the convenience or the indolence of the clergy, all the services which used to be spread over three parts of the Sunday morning are lumped together; and no matter what the distance, or weather may be, in the most scattered parishes, all the inhabitants must be there at one and the same appointed hour, or have no means of attending any service at all.

The most flagrant abuse in the administration of the church is, that one person should have the care of souls in two different and distant places. It is as if an earthly sovereign could permit an officer to hold commissions in two regiments at the same time. Such an absurdity in secular matters would not be tolerated for an instant. But God is treated with an indignity and mockery of service by his professed ministers, with which none of them would presume to treat their prince.

Another count in the indictment on which this nation stands arraigned at the bar of God, is her treatment of African Slaves in her West India Colonies. The blood of tortured negroes cries aloud for vengeance. In vain have their advocates argued, implored, and remonstrated; the rulers of England have turned a deaf ear, or deliberately preferred the wealth which they supposed could be wrung from the stripes of the blacks, to the dictates of humanity, and the commands of Christianity. But the chief cause assigned in the Bible for the judgments which are to overwhelm Christendom in one common destruction, is the treatment which God's chosen people, the Jews, have received at

our hands : "as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee ; thy reward shall return upon thine own head." England is as guilty in this matter as Spain or Rome.

It is true, indeed, that while there is life there is hope, and if the nation would cease to do evil, and learn to do well, would wake to righteousness, and sin no more in all these several particulars, we might trust that the Lord would repent Him of His anger, and turn in mercy to England as He did to Nineveh and Jerusalem of old. But our rulers are as blind to God, and to God's ways as the moles and the bats : and wilfully refuse to listen to His word, or to receive it as their guide in the management of the nation's affairs. Whilst affecting an infidel liberalism on the one hand, and professing to consider all creeds, and all professions alike, and that violence done to the sentiments of Socinian blasphemers, and Popish apostates, partakes of the nature of persecution ; they compel Protestants against their conscience to assist at the idolatrous ceremonies of Papists. On this head an American publication makes the following sensible, and pertinent remark, to which an English journalist (the Record) adds his own comment. "A paper which appears to be conducted with much propriety, after some pertinent remarks on the hard and unjust cases of Captain Atchison and Lieutenant Dawson, concludes with the following remarks, which we commend to the attention of our civil and military rulers. We shall only observe

on their *third* head, that we subscribe to its truth with reference to the 'military law' of Great Britain *as administered*, although not as applied, either *to its letter or spirit*, as it *stands in the statute book*. We much question whether *all* military law is inconsistent with Christian obligation; but we acknowledge that the British military law, as now administered by men who conceive *that* to be supreme, and who, in their own persons, trample the *divine* law under foot, either to give point to their daily speech, or to punish an individual who has insulted them, has in this instance at least outraged the divine commandment. As to *the Protestantism of the British Ministry being tame and spiritless*, we think the Protestantism not only of the British Ministry, but of both Houses of Parliament, as exhibited in their public speeches and public acts, altogether unworthy of the name.

" 1. *How tame and spiritless is the Protestantism of the British Ministry.* To tolerate Catholics, to make them eligible to Parliament, and the highest offices in the state, to vote large sums from the public treasury to support their theological schools, one would think was yielding enough to their claims—but, *to compel Protestants to aid them in their worship*, is an obsequiousness in the last degree disgraceful, AND THE BRITISH PEOPLE WILL NOT TOLERATE IT IN THEIR MINISTRY, IF THEY HAVE ONE SPARK OF TRUE PROTESTANTISM REMAINING IN THEIR BOSOMS.

"2. How imperfect, how worthless is the boasted liberty of Englishmen. Every subject of Great Britain may be compelled to enter the military or naval service of his country, and when there, he may be ordered to violate the most sacred dictates of his conscience, and if he refuses, if he remonstrates, if he even requests to be excused, he may be not merely expelled from the service, but punished with death. On the trial of Captain A., it was distinctly stated, that 'had the prisoner's immediate commanding officer acted with the firmness required by the rules of the service, he must have appeared before the court to defend himself against a charge that must inevitably have affected his life.'

"3. Military law is inconsistent with Christian obligations. On this subject our readers will find some excellent remarks in the article of Pacificus on our first page. The case of Captain Atchison is an admirable illustration of the argument of our correspondent. We here find the Duke of Wellington, the first general of the age, a man whose opinion on what is necessary to the efficiency of military law will not be questioned, virtually declaring, that the rights of conscience must yield whenever they come in conflict with military requisitions; that if a soldier is ordered to bow his knee to an idol, he must do it, and if he refuses, if he hesitates, he does it at the peril of his life. Can a Christian be justified in entering into such a service? Can the service which requires such a law be consistent with Christianity?"

It has already been remarked, that there is no symptom of penitence and contrition on the part of the rulers of England, nor of return to justice and mercy towards the poor. In the meanwhile, a man has been stationed at her helm, of extraordinary energy and decision of character. Necessarily ignorant by education and habit of all the commercial details, which, valuable in their place, are essential to the knowledge of the circumstances by which a nation is rendered rich or poor; he is surrounded with a halo of glory from the steaming blood of a hundred victories. The people gaze, and are bewildered. Military talent is that which has always attracted the largest portion of admiration; yet, it is the commonest, that is, distributed in the largest quantity, and bestowed on a greater number of individuals than any other. They who have been educated expressly for its development seem to have no one advantage over those who have had the least opportunity of acquiring knowledge of its exercise. Sparticus, a slave, who never could have seen a military movement in his life, burst his bonds, and baffled the ablest and most practised general of Rome. The republican commanders in ancient Greece, modern Switzerland, and America, furnish similar examples. In the commencement of the French revolution, the dregs of the people vomited up generals, who beat all the experienced officers, not only of their own country, but of England, Germany, and all Europe. Murat's father was the steward of the

Talleyrands ; Marmont, Augereau, Victor, and Lasnes, were all raised from the ranks. Example, therefore, teaches us to expect that if civil war were to break out in Great Britain, Captain Rock and the Luddites might furnish from the loom, those who would equal the conqueror of Waterloo in the field, while they already surpass him in their statesmanlike speeches, delivered in their Mechanics' Institutes. Reckless boldness may be harmless, nay, even very useful in an over-timid cabinet, where there are heads to conceive without the courage to act : but the same self-sufficient determination when combined with necessary ignorance, however great the natural acuteness may be, can be an instrument calculated to preside over a nation only in times of violence and storm. The whole administration of the Duke of Wellington is active, energetic, and well-performed. Bred in the habits of a camp, he is accustomed to proceed directly to his end, whenever he sees that the object to be gained is important. They who believe that the existence of England, as a nation, depends upon the continuance of its duty towards the church of Christ, perceive the cause of her decline. But the duke believes no such thing ; and probably does not know what is the meaning of the " church of Christ." Yet, upon no other ground ought the claims of the papists to have been ever withheld, especially after the repeal of the Test Act, which was, be it remembered, a measure of the people, not of the Government ; and he

must, as a straightforward, honest man, be disgusted at the episcopal palliations of Popery, and at the hypocrisy of those who at one time pretended to consider it a religious question, and afterwards to acquiesce in it as soon as it had the sanction of the court. "The Catholic bill," says Mr. Davenport, "has shewn the country that it was in the power of two individuals in a few short months, to turn a majority of forty-five lords against a long agitated question, into a majority of one hundred and forty-five in favour of that very identical question; and that by the same machinery, a majority of six was turned into (I think) one hundred and eighty in the House of Commons." It is impossible the Duke can feel any thing but contempt for profession of religion upon such subjects. He has done no more than with his principles he ought to have done: yet the whole combination of circumstances by which he was led are extraordinary, and he was made to deceive the people as much through their own faults, as through his. He assumed the reins of government as the supposed supporter of the Protestant constitution. He heard the downfall of his predecessors, and his own subsequent elevation, hailed by the Protestant party as the sure pledge that the people of England were not to be delivered over into the hands of Popish legislators, and Popish judges. By not contradicting their expectations, their vigilance was lulled. When he spoke out his sentiments, his political admirers felt themselves

betrayed, and as if a masked battery had been opened upon them. Whether he intended it or not is immaterial, the fact is the same : and while he is, by the consent of all, the fittest man in the empire for the office which he holds, he stands there without the love or confidence of any : an object of desperate reliance to the timid ; of awe to the wise ; of hope to the liberal ; but of doubt and suspicion to all.

Nor is it to be forgotten, that at the close of a war, during which the infidel power of France had marched triumphant into the capital of every European state except London, and Popery was chastised and nearly destroyed, and during which the Turk alone had remained at peace, the Turk in his turn has been made to feel the scourge of intestine war and foreign invasion. At the outset of the struggle, for the first time in the history of the world, were seen the banners of the head of Protestantism, of the eldest son of the Popish, and the head of the Greek Church, floating united together. These three crosses were constrained, against their will, to enter the lists with the crescent, and sweep at Navarino its ships off the seas. The word of God declared that the Turkish empire was to be evaporated and dried up ; and he sent the Russian down upon it to show openly to all Europe that the power of that once mighty empire, which he had in old times made use of, not only as the scourge of Samaria, but for the punishment of the eastern heresies of Christendom, had become effete. This has been done so

completely, that it has been truly observed that the treaty recently concluded "between Russia and Turkey, ought to be called the rules by which Russia is to possess the Turkish empire."

And what shall be the end of these things ?

"——— Providence himself will intervene
 To throw his dark displeasure o'er the scene.
 All are his instruments ; each form of war,
 What burns at home, or threatens from afar ;
 Nature in arms, her elements at strife,
 The storms that overset the joys of life,
 Are but his rods to scourge a guilty land,
 And waste it at the bidding of his hand.
 He gives the word, and mutiny soon roars
 In all her gates, and shakes the distant shores ;
 The standards of all nations are unfurled ;
 She has one foe, and that one foe the world.
 And if he mark that people with a frown,
 And mark them with a seal press'd down,
 Obduracy takes place ; callous and tough,
 The reprobated race grows judgment-proof ;
 Earth shakes beneath them, and heaven roars above,
 But nothing scares them from the course they love.
 To the lascivious pipe, and wanton song,
 That charms down fear, they frolic it along,
 With mad rapidity and unconcern,
 Down to that gulph from which is no return.
They trust in navies, and their navies fail,
 God's curse can cast away ten thousand sail.
They trust in armies, and their courage dies :
In wisdom, wealth, in fortune, and in lies :
 But all they trust in withers, as it must
 When HE commands IN WHOM THEY PLACE NO TRUST."

We read that in former times there was a commercial state which, though small in territory and population, monopolized by its numerous fleets the wealth and commerce of the world.

This state despised the Lord, and the word passed out of his lips, "IT SHALL BECOME A SPOIL TO THE NATIONS." This was done that she might be brought to know the Lord, and as an example to all who witnessed it; and who were struck with dismay at seeing that the day of retribution was come. They lamented over her, saying, "How art thou destroyed that was inhabited of seafaring men, the renowned city, which was strong in the sea; she, and her inhabitants which cause their terror to be on all that haunt it." Thus it was with Tyre of old; but a greater than Tyre is included in that name. A nation is included which is called "a merchant of the people for many isles." This nation was proud, and said of itself, "I am of perfect beauty;" the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world. She is represented under the figure of a ship, in the building of which all the skill, and the wealth, and the magnificence which had been displayed in the construction of the most gorgeous edifice ever seen on earth, the temple of Solomon, were employed. Into her bosom every state in the known world poured out its treasures. The ships of all other nations sing her praises; and she is declared to be "made very glorious in the midst of the seas." It is said, however, of her, that "her rowers have brought her into deep waters," so that the wind broke her in pieces. The rowers that had the management of her; her governors—not her lawless crew, but those who urged her along in her course—these brought her into her difficulties.

Again the Lord gives her a solemn warning, and expostulates with her as with one man. "Thus saith the Lord; because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas:" that is, I sit the most powerful island in the universe, relying upon my own strength as alone sufficient to preserve me; "yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God;" yet you are but a poor dependant creature; as completely dependant upon me as the meanest and weakest principality, although you vainly suppose your strength to be from yourself, and not from me. "Behold thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee;" thou art the most enlightened nation on the earth: "With hy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: by thy great wisdom, and by thy traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches." Your constitution, and your commercial prosperity, and the progress of knowledge, have been the things on which you have relied, and you think your present power is to last for ever. "Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God, behold, therefore I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations: and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness. They shall bring thee down to the

pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas. Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am God? but thou shalt be a man, and no god, in the hand of him that slayeth thee. Thou shalt die the deaths of the uncircumcised by the hands of strangers: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord."

But a heavier charge lies yet against this commercial nation: it is not only accused of trusting to second causes, and relying for a continuance of its power on its wealth, its commerce, its intelligence, and its political institutions; but it is also charged with abandoning religious duty. It is represented as adorned with all the precious stones which, hanging on the High Priest in the temple, declared truth to the people. It is represented also as being a power which afforded religious protection to others, under the figure of "an anointed cherub that covereth," into which office of protection it had been set by God. It was perfect in its ways from the day that it was created till iniquity was found in it: it performed the office of protecting other religious nations from the day of its appointment until some fatal epoch, when it refused to do this any longer. By the multitude of its merchandise they have filled the midst of it with violence, and it has sinned; "therefore, saith the Lord, I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God; and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty; thou hast corrupted

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thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness: I will cast thee to the ground, I will lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee. Then hast thou defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee; it shall devour thee; and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee: and all they that know thee among the people shall be astonished at thee; thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more at all." It thought to preserve its maritime greatness, and extensive traffic—these were the objects which were dearest to it; and to do this it defiled the sanctuary, neglected the special religious duty to which it had been eminently appointed, and the Lord threatens it with civil war, breaking out in the midst of it, which shall destroy it as a power in the sight of the nations.

Whether Tyre be a type of England or not is immaterial. *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.* But this much is certain; that in order, and for the express purpose of pacifying Ireland, and that that country might be enriched, and manufacturers and merchants be enticed to establish themselves in it, England has refused to be the great protector against the Popish apostacy. It has been shown already how the whole course of our foreign policy was altered at the peace of 1814, when this country ceased to be "the anointed cherub that covered" the other weaker and more defenceless states: she gave them up

to the oppressor, and has been no longer the refuge of the persecuted: now she has defiled the sanctuary of her greatness, her parliament, by the free admission of the enemies of God as legislators and rulers over his people; of all this the parliament, the ministers, and the king, were collectively and individually warned. The mass of protests in the name of God, and on the ground of religious duty alone against the measure, exceeded all that were ever made by the people upon any one subject at any former period of their history. "Therefore, thus saith the Lord, because I have called and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand and no man regarded; but ye have set at naught all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh. When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you; then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me; for that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord: they would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof: therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices."

FINIS.

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